



# **GREAT VICTORY FOR CHAIRMAN MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE**

Warmly Hail the Birth of  
Peking Municipal  
Revolutionary Committee

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Long live the great leader Chairman Mao!

Long live the great proletarian  
cultural revolution!



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— Warmly Hail the Birth of Peking Municipal  
Revolutionary Committee

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PEKING 1967

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## MESSAGE SALUTING CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

### Most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

In the midst of our great struggle against and all-out criticism and repudiation of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, we proletarian revolutionaries of the capital, with great elation, report to you, the reddest red sun in our hearts, the exciting news that the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has been set up. This sends soaring to the skies another paean of victory for your brilliant thought! This is another great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by you!

On the occasion of this auspicious festival of proletarian revolutionaries, we cheer and sing, in one voice from thousands of hearts: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Chairman Mao! When we think back over the inspiring course of the Chinese revolution, words cannot express our boundless loyalty to you, no song or music is good enough to sing your praise, oceans are not as vast as our infinite respect and love for you.

It is you who integrated Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement, founded the great Chinese Communist Party, and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism.

It is you who lit the single spark on the Chingkang Mountains, and opened the way for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

It is you who led the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army across mountains and rivers in fulfilling the world-famous 25,000-*li* Long March.

It is you who, at the Tsunyi Meeting which will go down for ever in the annals of history, ended the domination of the “Left” and Right opportunist lines in the Party and laid the foundation for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

It is you who, from Yenan, the sacred heartland of the revolution, pointed the way forward in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

It is you who commanded the mighty forces of the people's army to march into Peking, bringing a new spring to that ancient capital.

It is you who hoisted the first five-star red flag on Tien An Men Square and founded our great People's Republic.

In those long years of fighting and on those great revolutionary expeditions, you guided us in overcoming difficulties one after another and successively passing through fierce storms, to lead our calamity-ridden land out of darkness into light. Our country rose like a giant in the East, bringing the hope of victory to the people of the world. It rose above the horizon like the red sun, lighting the road to liberation for the proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world.

Chairman Mao! In order to guarantee that our socialist country will never change colour, you personally initiated and led the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution and are leading us forward in a new Long March.

It is you who uncovered the darkness of the old Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the old Peking Municipal People's Council, and smashed the fond dream of restoring capitalism cherished by the handful of careerists hidden there.

It is you who personally decided to broadcast the contents of the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country, thus kindling the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It is you who presided over the drawing up of the “Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution”, with

the result that the bourgeois reactionary line was proclaimed bankrupt and the great proletarian cultural revolution was switched over to correct direction.

It is you who, with penetrating insight, discovered and enthusiastically supported the Red Guard movement that has shaken the world. Guided by your proletarian revolutionary line, the young Red Guards have performed immortal feats for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It is you who reviewed in Peking more than ten million members of the great cultural revolutionary army from all parts of the country, a great new creation in the history of the international communist movement.

It is you who, in Peking, issued the order for the proletarian revolutionaries to forge the great alliance and seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and thus pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution forward to a completely new stage.

It is you who have resolutely supported the proletarian revolutionaries in launching a general offensive against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, thus sounding the bugle call for a new and mighty campaign in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

These moving scenes, these soul-stirring pictures, present the magnificent prospect of complete victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, compose an ode to your brilliant thought, record the most gallant chapter in the history of the international communist movement and open a new era in the history of mankind.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you have taught us that “before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean”.<sup>1</sup> A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the old Peking Municipal People’s

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, “Introductory Note to ‘A Serious Lesson’”, *The Socialist Upsurge in China’s Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. 1.

Council, supported and shielded by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, turned Peking into a "watertight and impenetrable" independent kingdom, in a vain attempt to change Peking into a base for restoring capitalism in our country. For more than a decade, they have been frantically engaged in criminal activities against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Seeing their monstrous crimes with our own eyes, how could we not feel angry? How could we not rebel? How could we not seize power? Pledging determination to defend you and the Party Central Committee at the cost of our lives and entertaining deep-rooted hatred for the class enemy, we launched a fierce onslaught against the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the old Peking Municipal People's Council. When we had just fired the first shot the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road immediately brought out his bourgeois reactionary line, vainly attempting to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution right here in our great capital. To defend your illustrious thought and your proletarian revolutionary line, we have rebelled against the bourgeois reactionary line and exposed the Khrushchov of China, author of this reactionary line. Guided by your proletarian revolutionary line, we have broken down all resistance, swept away all obstacles and have categorically pledged resolutely and thoroughly to smash the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the old Peking Municipal People's Council, and resolutely and thoroughly to criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and throw him into the dust-bin of history! We are determined to combine the criticism and repudiation of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road with the struggle to smash completely the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the old Peking Municipal People's Council. We are also determined to integrate this

criticism and repudiation with the task of struggling [against and overthrowing those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road], criticizing and repudiating [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and transforming [education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base] in our own departments, so as to chop off the sinister tentacles, which the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road stretched into every sphere!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! You have taught us: "**All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces.**"<sup>1</sup> The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road have not given in and are making a futile attempt to reverse the verdict passed on them. They are not resigned to their defeat and are seeking retaliation, thus stirring up an adverse current aimed at capitalist restoration. Their chief boss behind the scenes is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. We shall keep in mind your teachings: "**With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame.**"<sup>2</sup> Holding high the great red banner of your illustrious thought, we shall launch a general offensive against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and penetratingly criticize, thoroughly repudiate and completely discredit the bourgeois reactionary line he represents, together with his book on "self-cultivation" by Communists, a big poisonous weed which he has painstakingly planted. We shall refute, overthrow and completely discredit the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road; we

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The Turning Point in World War II", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> From Mao Tse-tung's poem *The Capture of Nanking by the People's Liberation Army*.

shall completely smash the adverse current aimed at the restoration of capitalism. We shall firmly fulfil the great historic mission with which you have entrusted us, namely, first, to struggle [against and overthrow those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road], second, to criticize and repudiate [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and third, to transform [education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base]; and we shall unswervingly carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! "**Take firm hold of the revolution and promote production**" is a great policy advanced by you. We shall certainly carry it out to the letter. We shall certainly place the revolution in the first place, put the revolution in command of production and energetically grasp the revolution and vigorously promote production, thus sparking off a new upsurge in building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, winning sure victory in both revolution and production!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We shall resolutely carry out and defend the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination you have advanced. In the course of the struggle thoroughly to criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road as well as his bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres, that of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful", we shall hasten the formation of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and realize the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. We shall resolutely smash the plot of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, who, masquerading as revolutionaries, are making vain attempts to worm their way into the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organs of power and carry out activities aimed at counter-revolutionary restoration. We shall not fail to make

a good job of seizing power, holding power and exercising power.

At the crucial moment of the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, you issued the militant call to the Chinese People's Liberation Army that it should actively support the broad masses of the Left. This manifests your deepest solicitude and utmost support for us. The People's Liberation Army is a proletarian revolutionary army built by you personally and led directly by Comrade Lin Piao. It is the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must determinedly smash the plot of the class enemy to direct the spearhead of its attack against the Chinese People's Liberation Army. We are resolved earnestly to learn from the Liberation Army, unite with it and fight alongside it, make great efforts to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, resolutely suppress all the class enemy's disruptive and sabotaging activities and build the people's capital as firm as rock and as strong as steel.

Chairman Mao! You are our supreme commander and our most brilliant helmsman. We will always follow you in making revolution and in marching forward valiantly through great storms! We will rebel against whoever dares to oppose you, defame your illustrious thought and oppose your proletarian revolutionary line, we will overthrow him and never allow him to rise again!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, we vow to you: We will always study your writings, follow your teachings, act according to your instructions and be your good fighters. We will study as maxims the "three constantly read articles" [ "Serve the People", "In Memory of Norman Bethune" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" ] and "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party", "Combat Liberalism", and others of your brilliant writings, make revolution in the depths of our being by breaking with "self" and fostering devotion to the public interest and make energetic efforts to seize power from the "selfishness" in our

minds. We will firmly adhere to your teachings and carry out rectification campaigns while we engage in struggle. We will energetically oppose anarchism and thoroughly overcome the mountain-stronghold mentality, the small group mentality, sectarianism, ultra-democracy and disregard of organizational discipline. We will strengthen the proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline, establish the proletarian revolutionary new order, consolidate the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and build our ranks into an extremely proletarianized and extremely militant army.

Peking is the capital of our great motherland and is the hope and beacon of the world's revolutionary people. Under your wise leadership, we proletarian revolutionaries in the capital, full of confidence and high spirits, will assuredly build Peking into the reddest of proletarian revolutionary cities, always shining with the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and into the red socialist bulwark standing four-square against imperialism and revisionism of the world.

We most heartily wish a long, long life to you, the reddest red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts!

**Rally to Inaugurate and Celebrate  
the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee**

April 20, 1967

## SPEECH BY PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI

— At the Rally to Inaugurate and Celebrate the  
Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee,

April 20, 1967

Comrade workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary college and middle school teachers and students in Peking, comrade revolutionary cadres of government organizations, comrade commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, young Red Guard fighters, comrades, comrades-in-arms:

Thanks to the solicitous concern and guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, after three months of active preparation, officially proclaimed its founding today. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has already given its approval.

On behalf of Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, I extend to you our warm congratulations and the militant greetings of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Peking is where Chairman Mao lives and where the Party Central Committee is located; it is the centre of leadership of this unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution.

Soon after the publication of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from*

*Office*".<sup>1</sup> Peking's proletarian revolutionaries quickly uncovered the intrigue and plot of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and criticized and repudiated them. This triumphantly raised the curtain on the great proletarian cultural revolution all over the country.

Seven comrades at Peking University, including Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu, wrote the nation's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster. Chairman Mao himself decided to have the contents of this poster broadcast, and the great proletarian cultural revolution from this time on developed vigorously on a national scale.

In Peking, at the 11th Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee over which he presided, Chairman Mao wrote a big-character poster bombarding the bourgeois headquarters. The 16-point decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution was adopted and a communique of the plenary session was issued. This proclaimed the defeat of the bourgeois reactionary line.

Peking's middle schools were the birth-place of the great, world-shaking Red Guard movement. With Chairman Mao's warm support, this movement swept swiftly over the whole country. Especially after Chairman Mao received the Red Guards last August 18, these young fighters went from their schools out into society and from Peking out to other parts of the country to exchange revolutionary experience. They vigorously destroyed the four olds [old ideas, culture, customs

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<sup>1</sup> This is a reactionary opera by the counter-revolutionary revisionist Wu Han, adapted from the story of a deposed feudal official named Hai Jui of 400 years ago in the Ming Dynasty. By distorting history and using the past to satirize the present, the author complained of "injustice" done to the anti-Party and anti-socialist Right opportunists who had been removed from office by the Chinese people in 1959, and encouraged them to stage a come-back. In November 1965, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan published his article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*" in Shanghai and thus sounded the call for the unfolding of the great proletarian cultural revolution.—Tr.

and habits] of the exploiting classes, and energetically fostered the four news [new ideas, culture, customs and habits] of the proletariat. They performed immortal feats in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Between August and November last year, Chairman Mao received more than 12 million young Red Guard fighters and revolutionary teachers and students from all over the country. Armymen and civilians, young and old, came together and made our great capital the centre of national attraction and the focus of world attention.

The proletarian revolutionaries of Peking enthusiastically responded to the call issued by Comrade Lin Piao from the Tien An Men rostrum on National Day last year and unfolded the struggle between the two lines. Firmly standing on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, you have repulsed repeated attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line in several months of endeavour. You have gained superiority not only politically and ideologically but also organizationally.

The storm of Shanghai's January Revolution brought the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new stage—that of waging the struggle to seize power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Proletarian revolutionaries in Peking also immediately went into action and carried out struggles to seize power from below and to oppose the adverse current aimed at a capitalist restoration, winning one great victory after another.

On the basis of these great struggles and victories and in response to Chairman Mao's call, Peking's proletarian revolutionaries and young Red Guard fighters—after having held representative conferences of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, and college and middle school Red Guards—established Peking's provisional organ of power which is revolutionary, representative and possesses proletarian revolutionary authority. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

You have now seized power, but the struggle between the two roads and the two lines have not ceased. You must realize that it is no easy matter to seize power, nor is it easy to hold power, and it is still more difficult to consolidate this dictatorship of the proletariat.

As soon as Peking was liberated in 1949, the rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. But the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee futilely attempted to turn Peking into an independent kingdom under their control. They waved "red flags" to oppose the Red Flag. Outwardly, they put on a show of following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line but in secret they followed the reactionary line of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. This small handful usurped leadership from the proletariat and attempted to divert the dictatorship of the proletariat on to the road of capitalist restoration.

Proletarian revolutionary comrades in Peking must firmly bear this lesson in mind; after the seizure of power they must pay full attention to strengthening and consolidating the political power. They must really hold it and use it well.

To do this, they must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. At present, they must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works with specific problems in mind. They must expose, criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the Peking municipality more fully, more penetratingly and more comprehensively. They must link this with the movement in their own units to struggle [against and overthrow those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road], criticize and repudiate [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes], and to transform

[education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base]. At the same time, in this great revolutionary movement of criticism and repudiation, they should further strengthen and develop the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. This is the general orientation of the struggle and this is what we must firmly hold to.

Only by doing so can we thoroughly eliminate all the poisonous influences of the bourgeois reactionary line so that the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao will be fully carried out in all fields. And only by doing so can the broad masses be armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionization of their thinking promoted, and our dictatorship of the proletariat consolidated from the roots.

Simultaneously with taking firm hold of the revolution, we need to promote production energetically. Not only should the great proletarian cultural revolution bring about brilliant results in the political and ideological fields, but also in the fields of economic construction and scientific research.

This is the second year of our country's Third Five-Year Plan. We must strive for a bumper harvest this year, strive for further increases in industrial production and scale new heights in scientific research. In this respect, Peking exerts important influence on the whole country.

Proletarian revolutionary comrades of Peking, under the condition of revolutionizing their thinking, must make still bigger efforts to go all out, aim high and fulfil and overfulfil this year's targets with greater, faster, better and more economical results, lay a solid and prospective base for the Third Five-Year Plan and carry out still more effectively the important strategic principle put forward by Chairman Mao of preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people.

**Chairman Mao taught us on the eve of our nation-wide victory:**

To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand *li*. . . . The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle.<sup>1</sup>

Proletarian revolutionary comrades of Peking and young Red Guard fighters, we wholeheartedly hope that you will hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, follow Chairman Mao's teachings, cherish the fruits of your victories, strengthen your sense of responsibility, steadily consolidate and extend the power you have already seized and ensure that our capital, where Chairman Mao lives, will always remain in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries, will for ever be full of youth and vitality, and never change colour.

Finally, let us loudly acclaim:

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

Long live the proletarian revolutionaries!

Long live the Chinese People's Liberation Army!

Long live the Red Guards!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

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<sup>1</sup> Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 195.

## SPEECH BY COMRADE CHIANG CHING

—At the Rally to Inaugurate and Celebrate the  
Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee,  
April 20, 1967

Comrade workers, peasants, soldiers, students, and revolutionary cadres, comrades-in-arms, young Red Guard fighters:

Good day to you! On behalf of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee, I extend to you our warm congratulations on the founding of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the militant greetings of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

The founding of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee marks a new victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution in the capital and will exert a great influence on the nation-wide victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. After the Conference of Representatives of Revolutionary Workers and Staff, the Conference of Representatives of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants, the Congress of Red Guards of Universities and Colleges, and the Congress of Red Guards of Middle Schools, Peking's proletarian revolutionaries have now further allied themselves and brought about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. This is a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih has made a very good speech. Here I want to talk about only two points. One is about the relationship between the work of all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party people in authority taking the

capitalist road and the task in various units of struggling [against and overthrowing those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road], criticizing and repudiating [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and transforming [education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base]. The other is about supporting the army and cherishing the people.

The current situation in China as a whole is very good, extremely good. This is the result of our struggle being led by Chairman Mao, the result of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, and the result of the support given by the great Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The development of the situation, however, is not even, and there are reverses. This is a normal phenomenon. There is nothing on the globe that proceeds with absolute evenness, and in very few cases are there no reverses. It is only through repeated contests of strength and struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the course of the great cultural revolution that we can temper ourselves. How can we temper ourselves if there are no reverses? Therefore, to have reverses is not a bad thing.

In the present stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are forging an alliance to seize power, we should launch a vigorous mass movement to criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and, at the same time, gradually turn to the task of struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation in various units according to local conditions. This is an arduous task.

The handful of top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are representatives of capitalist restoration and the behind-the-scene bosses of the counter-revolutionary, revisionist clique of the Peking municipality. For seventeen years and more, they have been putting forward and stubbornly persisting in a bourgeois reactionary line in various fields.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has developed in the struggle against this bourgeois reactionary line. We must completely eliminate the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, and fly the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over all positions.

The task of struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation in various units and the work of criticizing and repudiating the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road do not contradict each other and can be linked together. The all-out criticism and repudiation of the few top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road can give a strong impetus to struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation in various units, which, in turn, can bring about a fuller exposure and a more profound criticism and repudiation of the poisons spread on various fronts by that top Party person. This requires us to do some hard thinking, to study Chairman Mao's works well, and to do good work in investigation and study.

This is a task of the foremost importance. For its fulfilment, a revolutionary leading organ must be set up in every unit. Naturally, in some units where the Party and government leadership or management are in the main good, the seizure of power is unnecessary. Nevertheless, it is necessary for nearly all the units to form the great revolutionary alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and so set up the provisional organ of power. Otherwise, without the revolutionary alliance and "three-in-one" combination how can you proceed with struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation? And who will give the leadership? Isn't this crystal-clear?

Comrades, have you thought the matter over? Some students are interested only in going about and "storming", and show great enthusiasm for it. It is a fundamental task of the socialist revolution and socialist transformation, a big job for the

next hundred years, for a unit or department successfully to carry through the struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation! If you give a thought to this, you comrades will strengthen your sense of responsibility!

We in the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee should also carry out the work of penetrating investigation and study. And, working together with you comrades, we shall learn from your good experience and then help you in your work.

We have been comrades-in-arms sharing weal and woe over the past year. I hope that you comrades will think seriously of the question of struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation. You should not divert the aim of struggle from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, but should thoroughly refute them. The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, the former Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and the former Ministry of Culture must also be exposed, criticized and repudiated in a more thoroughgoing way.

Since the directives of supporting the Left, of supporting industry and agriculture, of placing certain units under military control and of military training, issued by Chairman Mao and resolutely supported by Comrade Lin Piao, the People's Liberation Army has thrown in great strength, and the P.L.A. cadres and soldiers have done a great work and scored initial brilliant successes.

You are fully at liberty to criticize people in the army, no matter who, by writing big-character or small-character posters, whether sending them directly to the persons themselves or to upper organizations or even to the Party Central Committee. But the spearhead of the attack should in no circumstances be directed against the army.

The revolutionary masses should adopt a correct attitude towards the army and give it support. **Chairman Mao teaches**

us, "Without a people's army the people have nothing."<sup>1</sup> The eight-point order issued by the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee on January 28 is correct and is still in force. The main aspect of the order deals with the point that the masses should adopt a correct attitude towards the People's Liberation Army, that is, giving support to the army.

The army for its part should also adopt a correct attitude towards the masses, that is, to cherish the people. Chairman Mao teaches us, "The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible. . . ."<sup>2</sup> As to the present ten-point order issued by the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee on April 6, it is also correct and remains in force. The main aspect of the order deals with the point that the army should adopt a correct attitude towards the masses, that is, cherishing the people.

The spirit embodied in the eight-point order is identical with that of the ten-point order. It is wrong to counterpose the latter to the former, and by no means should the ten-point order be used to wreck the eight-point order. If you do so, you are doing wrong. The reason why we raise this question is that we fear comrades may commit mistakes or be misled by evil-minded persons. Hence, with particular emphasis we put forward the call to support the army and cherish the people.

**Chairman Mao teaches us,**

... We are confronted by two types of social contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves.<sup>3</sup>

Since they are different in nature, the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, pp. 296-97.

<sup>2</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, 1st pocket ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 2.

among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong.<sup>1</sup>

We should be good at distinguishing between the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. The two different types of contradictions must not be confused. With regard to the contradictions among the people, including controversies among mass organizations, they should be properly handled by **applying the method of presenting facts and reasoning things out and the principle of "unity, criticism, unity"**. It is wrong to brand certain organizations and people that hold a different view as being "counter-revolutionary". It is also wrong to use the method of handling the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to settle disputes between different mass organizations, let alone the use of violence.

Comrades, we hope that the broad revolutionary masses in Peking, under the leadership of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, will hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance in the course of the all-out revolutionary criticism and repudiation, and build Peking into a great school for studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative way.

Let us acclaim:

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the Red Guards!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

## SPEECH BY COMRADE HSIEH FU-CHIH

—At the Rally to Inaugurate and Celebrate the  
Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee,

April 20, 1967

Comrade proletarian revolutionaries, comrades-in-arms and  
young Red Guard fighters,

The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee which has  
long been expected by us all is now proclaimed as founded.

From start to finish, preparations for the setting up of the Pe-  
king Municipal Revolutionary Committee enjoyed the solicitous  
attention of our great leader Chairman Mao. At this moment of  
general rejoicing for the people of the Peking municipality,  
let us join in wishing our most respected and beloved great  
leader, Chairman Mao, a long, long life! Long, long life to him!

Today Premier Chou En-lai and all comrades of the Cultural  
Revolutionary Group Under the Party Central Committee at-  
tend our rally. Let us extend to them our warmest welcome  
and greetings of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

During the preparations for the setting up of the Peking  
Municipal Revolutionary Committee, the People's Liberation  
Army participated in the revolutionary "three-in-one" combi-  
nation, giving us firm support in every aspect. Let us extend  
revolutionary greetings to them! Let us learn from them!

In Shanghai and Shansi, Kweichow, Heilungkiang and Shan-  
tung Provinces, the proletarian revolutionaries have been the  
first to form their great alliances and seize power from the  
handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.  
They have set examples for us to emulate. Today the responsi-

ble comrades of these provincial and municipal revolutionary committees have come from afar to take part in our rally and support us. Let us express our warmest welcome and thanks to them.

The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has been established as the result of a heroic and protracted struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionaries, workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals of the capital, raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and adhering to the proletarian revolutionary line, against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against the bourgeois reactionary line.

Peking is where our great leader Chairman Mao lives, the site of the supreme command of the proletariat. The infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung is illuminating the whole world, the whole of China and this capital of our great motherland. But the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, in which a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists were long entrenched and which was shielded and supported by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, consistently waved "red flags" to oppose the Red Flag, rabidly opposed our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, viciously attacked and disparaged the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and opposed the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. This counter-revolutionary revisionist clique consistently opposed Chairman Mao's theory on class struggle, preached class conciliation, spread the concept of the dying out of class struggle, opposed and undermined the socialist education movement in city and countryside, shielded the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and protected the interests of the bourgeoisie. They consistently opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics, pursued a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in industry, agriculture, finance and trade, culture, education and other fields, and worked vigorously for the restoration of capitalism. They consistently opposed the line of the Party

Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and made energetic use of the instruments of propaganda which they controlled to disseminate revisionist poison widely, in preparation for public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. In the work of revolutionizing Peking opera, dance drama and symphonic music, they created all kinds of difficulties for Comrade Chiang Ching and levelled attacks against her. What arouses particular anger is that they time and again resisted Chairman Mao's instruction that Wu Han should be criticized and repudiated, and for a long time took no action in this matter. Following publication of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*", they forbade newspapers in Peking to reprint it; they did not allow publication of the article in pamphlet form, and even attacked the revolutionary comrades in Shanghai. They consistently followed the counter-revolutionary revisionist organizational line of recruiting deserters, accepting traitors and forming cliques in pursuit of their own selfish interests, handing out jobs to their close associates and putting bad people in important positions, shielding landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and attacking proletarian revolutionaries. They consistently maintained a blockade against the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and turned Peking into a "watertight and impenetrable" independent kingdom, in a futile attempt to make it a base for a counter-revolutionary restoration. The members of this counter-revolutionary revisionist clique were big despots riding on the backs of the masses of the people in Peking. They committed towering crimes against the Party and the people.

The ringleader of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Municipal Party Committee, time and again in the most nauseating way bragged about among the cadres to build up public opinion for his usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state. As a matter of fact, this counter-revolutionary revisionist, the leader of the old Municipal Party

Committee, was an outright capitulationist in the past and has been an agent of the bourgeoisie in our Party.

In the early stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan, this counter-revolutionary revisionist when in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Area followed Wang Ming's capitulationist line of "everything through the united front" and "everything must be submitted to the united front".

During the War of Liberation, when in the Northeast, he continued to carry out Wang Ming's line still more energetically and followed the capitulationist line advanced by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. He opposed Chairman Mao's great strategic thought of using the rural areas to surround the cities and Comrade Lin Piao's correct stand of arousing the masses boldly and setting up base areas.

In international activities, too, he made a lot of talk, behind the backs of the Party Central Committee, negating class contradictions, denying class struggle and glorifying the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism. He lauded the renegades Tito and Khrushchov and the bourgeois reactionaries of certain countries; he engaged in many capitulationist activities.

It has been verified that this counter-revolutionary revisionist became a turncoat and surrendered to the enemy and also betrayed comrades while he was in prison as far back as before the War of Resistance Against Japan. This renegade later colluded with the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in shielding a group of traitors and placing them in important leading positions in the Party, government and army. It is a tremendous contribution of the young Red Guards that they brought to light this big traitors' clique within our Party during the great cultural revolution.

Hiding behind the signboard of Communists and under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee are in reality loyal lackeys of the bourgeoisie and imperialists. They cling to the bourgeois

ideological system and the capitalist system and oppose Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the socialist system. They are a group of anti-Communist, anti-popular counter-revolutionaries. The struggle between us and them is a life-and-death struggle.

This gang of counter-revolutionary revisionists intensely fear and hate the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself. Repeatedly using double-faced tactics, they resisted Chairman Mao's directives, engaged in a series of underground activities, obstinately opposing and sabotaging the great cultural revolution. They were caught in the act of carrying out these anti-Party conspiracies. In response to the call of our great leader Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries in the capital, with the might of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt, smashed the "Three-Family Village"<sup>1</sup> gangster inn with one blow, stormed the counter-revolutionary revisionist lair of the old Municipal Party Committee, and crushed them completely. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee approved publication of the country's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster from Peking University, made a timely decision to reorganize the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and form a new Municipal Party Committee. All these steps won the warm support of the people of the whole city and the whole country, and gave a tremendous impetus to the great proletarian cultural revolution which had just started.

However, the principal leading members of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee failed to carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. On the contrary, they pursued the bourgeois reactionary line. In June and July of 1966, the great proletarian cultural revolution in Peking proceeded under the direct control of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who

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<sup>1</sup>The "Three-Family Village" is an anti-Party and anti-socialist counter-revolutionary clique which is composed of Teng To, Wu Han, Liao Mo-sha and others. — Tr.

turned Peking into a base for carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line. Taking the stand of the reactionary bourgeoisie, they exercised bourgeois dictatorship, protected the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Municipal Party Committee, shielded the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and aimed the spearhead of the struggle at the proletarian revolutionaries. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road personally directed many units in attacking the revolutionaries, suppressing the revolutionary masses, practising a white terror and branding large numbers of the revolutionary masses as "counter-revolutionaries" or "Rightists". They almost nipped the great proletarian cultural revolution in Peking in the bud and spread the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line throughout the country.

At that crucial moment, Chairman Mao returned to Peking and saved the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party adopted the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". This proclaimed the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line and rekindled the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution. As soon as new things such as the Red Guards and the extensive exchange of revolutionary experience appeared on the horizon, Chairman Mao firmly supported them. The Red Guards of the capital played their role in arousing the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line in all parts of the country. Here in Peking, Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Piao, received more than ten million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students, giving the proletarian revolutionaries tremendous encouragement and strength. The proletarian revolutionaries in the capital, upholding the proletarian revolutionary line and displaying the spirit of daring to think, speak, act, venture and make revolution, smashed the white terror of the bourgeois reactionary line, beat back its

numerous counter-attacks and waged struggles against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In extremely acute, complicated and tortuous struggles, the proletarian revolutionaries won one victory after another.

In Shanghai, the proletarian revolutionaries started the storm of the "January Revolution". In response to Chairman Mao's call, the proletarian revolutionaries in the capital launched a struggle from below to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Crowning a considerable period of preparation, deliberations and consultation, the Congress of Red Guards of Universities and Colleges, the Conference of Representatives of Revolutionary Workers and Staff, the Conference of Representatives of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants and the Congress of Red Guards of Middle Schools were successively convened in Peking. The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee — the Peking municipal provisional organ of power — was established on the basis of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and in accordance with the policy of revolutionary "three-in-one" combination put forward by Chairman Mao. This is a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Comrades and comrades-in-arms, while jubilantly celebrating the founding of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, we must bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction: "**You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!**"<sup>1</sup>

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great pioneering undertaking in the international communist movement. After the proletariat win political power in the country, the resistance of the bourgeoisie invariably grows tenfold, while they dream of recover-

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<sup>1</sup> Chairman Mao met revolutionary masses in Peking on August 10, 1966.

ing their lost "paradise". For quite a long time, they continue to retain a considerable political potential and still, to a considerable extent, have the upper hand in the ideological and cultural fields in particular. The proletariat, therefore, face an extremely important new problem of whether they are able to maintain and consolidate political power, prevent a capitalist restoration and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The Marxist-Leninists who preceded us either did not live to solve this problem or were unable to do so. In Yugoslavia, and then in the Soviet Union and certain other countries, capitalism was restored through "peaceful evolution". In China, since the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in 1949, Chairman Mao has led us in waging a series of important struggles against the bourgeoisie on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts. For instance: the struggle in 1954 against the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, bourgeois agents who had wormed their way into the Party; the struggle in 1959 against the Right opportunist anti-Party clique; the struggles on transformation of the system of ownership, namely, regarding state-private joint enterprises, agricultural co-operation, and the people's communes; the struggle against the Rightists on the political and ideological fronts; and the criticism and repudiation on the ideological and cultural front of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*,<sup>1</sup> *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*,<sup>2</sup> the reactionary thinking of Hu Shih and Hu Feng, Yang Hsien-

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<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Wu Hsun* was a most pernicious counter-revolutionary film which fervently praised the landlord class and its lackeys, frenziedly advocated the most shameless slavishness and capitulationism, and maliciously slandered the peasants' revolutionary struggles. Wu Hsun (1838-96) was a landlord's toady whom the film turned into a "great man" willing to sacrifice himself to provide poor peasant children with a chance to study.—Tr.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"* is a book which evaluates the classical novel from the bourgeois idealist and formalistic point of view and uses bourgeois methods of scholastic textual research.—Tr.

chen's theory of "two combining into one", and so on. All these were struggles waged by the proletariat under the leadership of Chairman Mao himself against the bourgeoisie, struggles waged by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao against the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The current great proletarian cultural revolution is a big and decisive battle, a general offensive against the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all the exploiting classes. Hundreds of millions of people have been aroused in a revolution to sweep clean from below all the bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party, government and army. Only such a great Marxist-Leninist as our great leader Chairman Mao, with his unique Marxist-Leninist wisdom, his extremely rich experience of struggle and his supreme courage and daring, could launch such a world-shaking mass movement on such a giant scale. The struggle to seize power is the inevitable outcome of the struggle between the two classes [the proletariat and the bourgeoisie], the two roads [the road of socialism and the road of capitalism] and the two lines [the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line]. Only by overthrowing the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, seizing power from them, dismissing them from office, and placing political power in the hands of staunch proletarian revolutionaries, is it possible to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, uproot revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and guarantee that our state will never change colour. The movement for extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle from below to seize power from those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road have as their purpose the defending of the fruits of victory already won by the proletariat and pushing forward the proletarian revolution. This is not only necessary at present; it will also be so in the future. This is a signal development of Marxism-Leninism by Chair-

man Mao, one of equal importance and greatness with Marx's founding of scientific socialism and Lenin's founding of the theory of the seizure of political power by the proletariat in a single country.

Now the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country are launching a new upsurge in the mass movement to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This is a big and decisive battle in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the chief bosses of revisionism in China. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in certain localities and certain departments are the backbone of the forces they rely upon in pushing ahead the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Thorough criticism and repudiation of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is the most important fighting task at present. We must firmly hold to this general orientation, boldly arouse the masses in a wide-spread movement for all-round criticism and repudiation politically, ideologically and theoretically, and thoroughly liquidate and eliminate the revisionist poison they have spread in various fields.

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the behind-the-scene bosses of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. We must centre our criticism and repudiation on them and thereby overthrow, refute and thoroughly discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and recapture all the positions they have usurped. We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao, hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, and plunge boldly into the battle to thoroughly smash the bourgeois reactionary line.

**Chairman Mao teaches us:**

In order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action.<sup>1</sup>

We must further extend and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries in the course of this great revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation. All proletarian revolutionaries should fight side by side and together get a better grasp of Mao Tse-tung's thought in order to achieve the common objective of criticizing and repudiating the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. **Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out:**

We must regard ourselves as an integral part of the revolutionary force and, at the same time, constantly regard ourselves as a target of the revolution. In making revolution, we must also revolutionize ourselves. Without revolutionizing ourselves, we cannot succeed in making this revolution.

In transforming the objective world, proletarian revolutionaries should, at the same time, ceaselessly transform their own subjective world. We should, in the course of this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, engage in a rectification campaign while carrying on the fight, eliminate self-interest and put public interest first, overcome the tendency to seek the limelight, the mountain-stronghold mentality, the "small group" mentality, liberalism, anarchism, individualism and other non-proletarian ideas, strengthen our proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline. Divergent views among the different revolutionary mass organizations should be resolved

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 165.

by the method of rectification in public, mainly by self-criticism. Divergent views should not lead to the fighting of "civil wars", thereby confusing the general orientation of struggle and even giving the enemy the chance to sabotage our great alliance and great unity. We must not allow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road to take advantage of the rectification campaign to attack and struggle against proletarian revolutionaries. Likewise, the conservatives should not be allowed to use the forming of the great alliance as a pretext for weakening the proletarian revolutionaries, repressing them and even swallowing them up. **Chairman Mao teaches us: We must work conscientiously to unite all those who can be united. The proletariat must emancipate not only itself but also mankind as a whole. Without emancipating the whole of mankind the proletariat cannot finally emancipate itself.** We must unite the great majority of the cadres and the masses. The proletarian revolutionaries should not discriminate against or exclude those people who were hoodwinked by the bourgeois reactionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries should, in the struggle to criticize and repudiate the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, patiently arouse the class consciousness of the hoodwinked people, ardently help them correct their mistakes, and unite with them in making revolution. Of course, the proletarian revolutionaries must not unite with such reactionary organizations as the "United Action Committee" and its like. The dictatorship of the proletariat must be exercised over such organizations and their chiefs, while their membership must be dissolved and rank-and-file members treated differently.

In connection with this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, we should further implement the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination advanced by Chairman Mao. The revolutionary "three-in-one" combination must take the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries as its basis and be formed step by step as the revo-

lutionary mass struggle develops. Only the masses can decide which cadres can join the revolutionary “three-in-one” combination; under no circumstances can cadres determine this themselves. Every revolutionary cadre should take an active part in this mass movement of criticism and repudiation, actively criticize and repudiate the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly expose the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, completely break with them, seriously criticize himself and correct his own errors and accept supervision and testing by the revolutionary masses. The proletarian revolutionaries should put stress on the criticism and repudiation of “hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful”, that integral part of the bourgeois reactionary line; they should encourage all cadres willing to make revolution to rise up in revolution and bring about the revolutionary “three-in-one” combination in the course of the struggle. Such a revolutionary “three-in-one” combination can prevent bad cadres from using the combination as a pretext to fish in troubled waters, counter-attack in revenge or attempt to realize a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration. The great majority of cadres in the Peking municipality are good or comparatively good. Many of them, such as Wu Teh, Liu Chien-hsun, and other comrades, have begun to stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries. We are confident that in the forthcoming struggle they will be able to pass the test, temper themselves and continue to make worthy contributions to the revolution.

Through this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, we should mobilize the masses more fully, carry out still better the policy of **“taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production”**, exert greater efforts in going all out, aiming high and striving for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1967 industrial and agricultural production plans.

Through this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, we should carry forward the mass movement for

the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in a more thoroughgoing way. Mao Tse-tung's thought has developed in the struggle against diverse opportunist lines, especially in the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. We will be able to grasp and master Mao Tse-tung's thought more thoroughly if we make full use of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road as teachers by negative example and criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line thoroughly from every aspect.

Comrades and comrades-in-arms, in reviewing the past and looking forward to the future, we have come to understand more deeply that holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and giving prominence to proletarian politics are the basic guarantee for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and fulfilling all tasks. Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era, is the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat and is our spiritual atom bomb. We proletarian revolutionaries cherish Mao Tse-tung's thought with boundless love, faith, admiration and loyalty. We must resolutely respond to **Comrade Lin Piao's call: "Study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters."** We will fly the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over every factory, commune, shop, school, government institution, street and every inch of land in the capital. We will build Peking, the people's capital, into the reddest revolutionary city shining always with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Let us hail:

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line  
represented by Chairman Mao!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party  
of China!

Long live the all-illuminating and invincible thought of  
Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life  
to him!

**SPEECH BY COMRADE CHANG CHUN-CHIAO  
ON BEHALF OF THE DELEGATIONS OF  
THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES IN FOUR  
PROVINCES AND ONE MUNICIPALITY**

—At the Rally to Inaugurate and Celebrate the  
Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee,

April 20, 1967

Revolutionary comrades, comrades-in-arms,

The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has formally come into existence today. This is a magnificent festival for the proletarian revolutionaries in Peking, and also for the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country. We, delegations of the revolutionary committees in the provinces of Shansi, Kweichow, Heilungkiang, Shantung and the municipality of Shanghai, are extremely happy to have been invited to attend this rally. Entrusted by the revolutionary committees and revolutionary people in these provinces and municipality, we extend our heartiest congratulations and great proletarian cultural revolutionary salutations to the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the revolutionary comrades-in-arms in Peking!

Comrades, comrades-in-arms, Peking is where our great leader Chairman Mao lives; it is the capital of our great motherland and the centre of our proletarian revolution. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries of Peking, under the direct leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, have marched in the van of the battle and made exceptional contributions

and given outstanding meritorious service to the great proletarian cultural revolution of the country as a whole. With the dauntless revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, you have launched strong attacks on the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee and scored the first great victory in the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. You have contributed the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the whole country and initiated the world-shaking movement of the Red Guards. You have warm-heartedly received more than ten million young revolutionary fighters who came to Peking to exchange revolutionary experiences, and you have sent out thousands upon thousands of Red Guard fighters all over the country, who have taken up Chairman Mao's call and the revolutionary style of daring to think, speak out, act, venture and make revolution to every part of China and, together with the proletarian revolutionaries in the various localities, spread the blazing fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution all over the country. Every victory in the great cultural revolution in our provinces and municipality is inseparable from the all-out support given by the proletarian revolutionaries in Peking and the heroic fighting of the young Red Guard fighters from Peking. Here we once again extend our heartfelt thanks to the comrades and comrades-in-arms.

Our great proletarian cultural revolution is in the high-tide of the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power on the basis of their alliance. All-out criticism and repudiation of the top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road is starting throughout the country. The establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee at this important juncture is an immense encouragement to proletarian revolutionaries all over the land. We are fully confident that born of revolutionary struggle, this provisional organ of power which is revolutionary, representative and has proletarian revolutionary authority, will be able to lead the proletarian revolutionaries of the capital forward to continue their march in

the van of the battle for the great cultural revolution in China and make still more brilliant contributions to the complete victory of the great cultural revolution in the capital and the country as a whole. We are also fully confident that this provisional organ of power will be able to build our capital into a great school for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a capital which will never change its colour, a model for the whole country and an example for the world.

Comrades-in-arms, we are all Chairman Mao's fighters, firing at a common enemy from the same trench. While in Peking, we, the provincial and municipal delegations, have gained much excellent experience, particularly the new experience you have created in the process of bringing about the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and your new experience of establishing the Conference of Representatives of Revolutionary Workers and Staff, the Congresses of Red Guards of Universities and Colleges, and of Middle Schools, and the Conference of Representatives of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants. Today we have heard Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih's report and speeches by comrades in other fields. We will continue to learn from you. You too will certainly continue to help us as you have done in the past. Let us march forward heroically, shoulder to shoulder, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the guidance of the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and strive for the complete victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and for new victories in the socialist revolution and construction!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

# HAIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEKING MUNICIPAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

Editorial of *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*),  
April 21, 1967

The formation of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has been proclaimed in the storms of the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution in the new upsurge of the mass movement thoroughly to criticize and repudiate the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and with the warm attention and guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao!

This is a new paean of victory for the ever-triumphant thought of Mao Tse-tung.

It is a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, a great victory of momentous significance in the struggle waged by China's proletarian revolutionaries to seize power! We should treasure this victory. Let us hail this victory, celebrate it, consolidate it and extend it!

Displaying a revolutionary pioneering spirit, the proletarian revolutionaries of Peking after some ample preparations convened the Conferences of Representatives of Revolutionary Workers and Staff, and of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants, the Congresses of Red Guards of Universities and Colleges, and of Middle Schools, and brought into being the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries of the whole city. Supported and helped by the powerful Chinese People's Liberation Army and in accordance with the principle of a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination put forward by Chairman Mao, the Peking

Municipal Revolutionary Committee has been formed as a provisional organ of power which is truly revolutionary and representative, having proletarian authority.

Peking is the location of the supreme command of China's proletarian revolution. It is the hope and beacon of liberation for the oppressed nations and peoples all over the world. It is here that the great proletarian revolutionary teacher Chairman Mao leads China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. The revolutionary people of the capital who are armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, are determined to build Peking into the socialist red bulwark of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, under the direct command and support of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, tried in a hundred and one ways to turn Peking into a base for nationwide restoration of capitalism.

If the proletariat had not firmly smashed the schemes of these revisionists, things would have happened as **Chairman Mao** pointed out:

[it would not take long . . . before] a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour.<sup>1</sup>

Dark clouds cannot obscure the resplendent sun of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Peking in their glorious revolutionary tradition have in the past seventeen years adhered to the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and the socialist road, and have consistently conducted resolute struggles against this gang of revisionists.

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<sup>1</sup> From *On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World*, FLP, Peking, 1964, p. 72.

*In June our heavenly troops wage war on festering evil,  
Their ten-league cord will capture kun and peng.<sup>1</sup>*

Initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, the great proletarian cultural revolution opened up with full vigour in Peking.

The Peking proletarian revolutionaries hurled down the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee with the momentum of a landslide. The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao has dismissed these revisionists from their posts.

Peking is the centre and birthplace of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Every battle here affects the progress of the movement of the whole country. Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, "You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end" and firmly standing on the side of the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries of the capital have contributed tremendously to the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country.

Peking proletarian revolutionaries put up the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster, touching off the opening salvo of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They started the world-shaking Red Guard movement, with its dauntless revolutionary rebel spirit to wash away all the mire of the exploiting classes. They rose in criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and of the bourgeois reactionary line laid down by these persons and of the same line executed by the new Peking Municipal Party Committee. They time and again defeated the wild counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line and created a new upsurge in the revolutionary campaign of extensive criticism and repudiation.

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<sup>1</sup> From Chairman Mao's poem *March from Tingchow to Changsha — to the melody of "Tieh Lien Hua"*.

All these successes of the Peking proletarian revolutionaries were made under the close attention and direct guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao.

**“The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.”**<sup>1</sup> The practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Peking shows that we can definitely overcome any obstacle, defeat all enemies and impel history forward as long as we resolutely trust the masses, rely upon them, arouse them with free hands and respect their initiative.

Peking marches forward, China marches forward, the revolution marches forward.

The situation is excellent for us. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has already achieved a decisive victory. But the class enemy has not given up its vain attempts of stubborn resistance. We still have problems of one kind or another in our own ranks. There will still be twists and turns in our struggle; we still have a long way to go and our tasks are still heavy.

In the present stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are forming an alliance to seize power, the fighting task facing the people of Peking and the whole country is for them to hold high the revolutionary banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in criticism and repudiation, penetratingly and thoroughly criticize, overthrow and completely discredit politically, ideologically and theoretically the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line they advanced and persisted in, as well as that big poisonous weed, the book on “self-cultivation”. We must take as our central task the criticism and repudiation of the few top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, combine it with the criticism and repudiation of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in provinces, cities, areas, departments and units, combine it with the

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<sup>1</sup> *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 118.

criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" in all fields, and gradually enter into the struggle, repudiation and transformation in various units, according to the varying conditions.

In the course of the extensive criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, we should go on fighting and at the same time launch a rectification campaign to overcome all non-proletarian ideas existing in our ranks. At present, particular efforts should be made to oppose anarchist ideas, further strengthen the revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline of the proletariat. We should actively respond to the call to support the army and love the people. We should consolidate and enlarge the revolutionary great alliance, consolidate and strengthen the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination in the course of struggle.

In the campaign of extensive criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, we should launch a new upsurge in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, conduct this campaign with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as our weapon, and through this campaign acquire a better understanding and grasp of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Having gone through the tests of the tempestuous great proletarian cultural revolution, the political power of the proletariat of our country will become all the more consolidated and the more mighty.

**"Let the reactionaries at home and abroad tremble before us. Let them allege that we are no good at this and that. Through their unswerving endeavours, the Chinese people will steadily reach their goal."**

# LET OUR GREAT CAPITAL SHINE WITH THE BRILLIANT THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG FOR EVER

## —Warmly Hail the Birth of Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee

Editorial of the *Jiefangjun Bao* (*Liberation Army Daily*),  
April 21, 1967

The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has come into existence in the flames of the great decisive battle which is being fought between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

Its founding has proclaimed the total collapse of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council controlled by the counter-revolutionary revisionists, and dealt a severe blow to their bosses behind the scenes, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

This is a great victory for the ever-victorious and infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung.

This is a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

This is a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao.

All the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army extend their heartiest congratulations to the people and proletarian revolutionary fighters in the capital.

The founding of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee is the outcome of the heroic struggle against the bour-

geois reactionary line and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road waged by the proletarian revolutionaries in the capital under Chairman Mao's close concern and brilliant leadership.

Shielded and supported by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee recruited deserters and renegades, ganged up for sinister ends and turned Peking into a "watertight and impenetrable" independent kingdom in a vain attempt to transform it into a base for their counter-revolutionary restoration. They always waved "red flags" to oppose the Red Flag, carried out an out-and-out revisionist line in the political, economic, ideological, cultural and all other fields, maliciously attacked our great leader Chairman Mao, and rabidly opposed the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They openly defied Chairman Mao's directives, thwarted the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, shielded the bourgeois Rightists, organized attacks against proletarian revolutionaries, carried out a white terror, and suppressed the revolutionary masses, in a frantic and futile attempt to extinguish the roaring flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution kindled by Chairman Mao himself. This revisionist clique is an enemy of the people of Peking and the whole country.

For a long time, the proletarian revolutionaries in Peking have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. Particularly since the great proletarian cultural revolution, they have held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, stood firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and displayed a dauntless spirit of daring to think, speak out, make revolution and rebel; they have smashed the "Three-Family Village", knocked down the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, shattered the repeated counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line, waged

struggles against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, put a stop to the sinister wind of counter-revolutionary economism, and crushed the adverse current of the counter-revolutionary restoration. After repeated trials of strength and breaking through innumerable barriers, the proletarian revolutionaries have steadily grown in number and strength, formed a revolutionary great alliance on the basis of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and, according to the principle of revolutionary "three-in-one" combination put forward by Chairman Mao, set up the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee — a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary, representative and possessing proletarian authority. By doing so, they have held the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat firmly in their own hands.

Chairman Mao has taught us that socialist society covers a very long historical period. In this historical period classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue to exist and the struggle still goes on between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.

The soul-stirring class struggle that has been going on in Peking is a struggle between the bourgeoisie plotting for restoration and the proletariat fighting against it, and the point at issue in this struggle is state power. It is seventeen years since we obtained state power. Is there the possibility of our state power being subverted or usurped? The hard facts of the class struggle in Peking have made it more clear to us that the proletariat, after gaining state power, may lose it, and the dictatorship of the proletariat may be turned into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The overthrown exploiting classes will undoubtedly seek their agents in our Party, then avail themselves of the part of the state power they have usurped to engage vigorously in activities to restore capitalism and make every effort to change the colour of the whole country and seize state power on a national scale. The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the

handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists under their aegis are agents of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into our Party, individualist careerists and schemers working for counter-revolutionary restoration. If you do not struggle against them, these scum will struggle against you; if you do not knock them down, they will knock you down. "The tree desires stillness, but the wind does not cease." They have turned a wind against us. We must also turn a wind against them, a hurricane of the strongest force and destroy them all.

In order to deal with these careerists and schemers of the Khrushchov type who plot to usurp the Party and the state, we must follow Chairman Mao's great directives — boldly arouse the masses, practise extensive proletarian democracy, make use of the free airing of views, big-character posters and great debates to bring about a great alliance of the revolutionaries, and form long columns of revolutionary army to carry out a general cleansing, a thorough mopping up, so as to drag into the open these counter-revolutionary revisionists and people in authority taking the capitalist road who are hiding in every nook and cranny, and seize back all the Party power, political power and power over financial and cultural affairs which they have usurped. If we are off our guard and allow them to accomplish their plots, then our country will change its colour like the Soviet Union and the fruits of the revolution paid for with the lives and blood of countless martyrs will all be frittered away.

How are the proletariat to retain state power after they have seized it? How to prevent usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state by the revisionists? How to prevent the restoration of capitalism? This is a new and central issue in the international communist movement. Only Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era and our great leader of genius, with such boldness of mind, such strong determination, such rich experience in struggle and such unique wisdom, could resolve this new issue of great international and historic significance both in theory and practice by initiating

the unprecedented and world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution. This is a great original undertaking embarked on for the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution, an epoch-making new development by Chairman Mao of Marxism-Leninism.

The seizing back of power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road is a great victory for the proletarian revolutionaries. But there are more arduous tasks waiting for us to accomplish. Our People's Liberation Army must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, stand close by the side of the broad masses of the Left in Peking, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by them, thoroughly liquidate the monstrous crimes of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, help and give support to the proletarian revolutionaries so that they can successfully hold and wield their power, more fruitfully study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, further consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance in large-scale criticism and repudiation, victoriously accomplish the great task of struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Let the capital of our great motherland shine with the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung for ever and ever.



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